

THE
Duke of Anjou's
SUCCESSION

Further Consider'd,

As to the DANGER that may arise
from it to *Europe* in General;

But more particularly to

ENGLAND,

And the several

Branches of our TRADE.

PART II.

By the Author of the First.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N,

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

TH E Duke of Anjou's Succession is a Subject so Copious, that it would afford Matter for large Volumes: It's as impossible to say all that may be said on this Occasion in a Pamphlet or two, as it is for one Pen to express all that might be proper.

It's hoped this is Apology enough to such Gentlemen as may perhaps find something wanting that ought to have been said. The best way to supply that defect is for others to communicate their Thoughts as I have done mine; for this Subject is no more to be exhausted by one Head, then the Controversie is to be decided by one Sword.

I have endeavoured in the following Sheets to lay before the Nation, the danger of our Trade in a more particular manner than I did in the First Part. That's an Argument as it concerns us all, will have an Influence upon many to open their Purses, that for any thing else would have kep'd them shut.

Our

The Preface.

Our All is now at stake, and perhaps in as great danger as at any time since we were a Nation. It concerns us to be speedy in our Councils, and vigorous in our Efforts; Delays in this Juncture may prove fatal; We have an Enemy to deal with of a fiery Temper, quick in Council, and ready in Dispatch; We have Provocation enough to rouse our Courage, and cause enough to be upon our Guard. It's the Concern of every English-man to engage his Representative to a more than ordinary Care in the approaching Parliament. They are sent thither to attend the Affairs of the Nation, which never stood in more need of wise and speedy Resolves than at present. May Heav'n create a good Understanding betwixt his Majesty and Them, and direct to such Measures as may obviate our Imminent Dangers.

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THE

*The Duke of Anjou's Succession
further consider'd, &c.*

P A R T II.

SINCE the writing of *the Duke of Anjou's Succession considered, &c.* the Interests and Power of *France* have made formidable Advances ; and if we may be allowed to make use of a Proverb fitted to the Season of the Year, *Seem to grow like a Snow-ball.* The truth of this is easily demonstrated by the following Instances.

I. All Letters from beyond Sea agree, that those who compose the Regency of *Spain*, have devolv'd the most essential part of their Government upon the *French King*, and have thrown their whole Monarchy upon his Conduct and Protection. It's true, that he seems to decline it ; he compliments the *Funto* for the extraordinary Trust they repose in him, and alledges he cannot accept their Offer, lest it should increase the Jealousy of those who oppose his acquiescing in the late King of *Spain's* Will. But at the same time it is manifest, that he acts in relation to their Affairs, as if they were his own, and makes no scruple that his Ambassadors should tell it in all Courts of

Europe, that the Death of the King of Spain hath reunited the Interests of that Monarchy with those of France. This is plain from the Harangues of his Ambassadors to the Cantons of *Switzerland*, and the States of *Holland*. He does not think it in the least unbecoming his Modesty, that his Ambassador to the *Swissers* should negotiate the Affairs of Spain with that Republic, and to anticipate the Endeavours of the *Spanish* Ambassador on that Head, tho he be upon the spot. Nay, the *French* Ambassador goes further, he makes bold to tell the *Cantons* what Instructions the Ambassador of Spain is to have on that Subject, and offers his Master's Purse to defray the Charge of guarding the Passes into *Milan*; which is demonstration enough that the Government of Spain is and must be manag'd by the direction of France. It's in vain to object any thing against this, and indeed those that do are sufficiently discovered to be such as converse only in the skirts of Affairs. But let the World say what they will, his most Christian Majesty can easily keep himself in Countenance, by telling the Public, That there's no Man so proper as himself to be Guardian to his Grandson. It is not new or uncommon for those intrusted with Pupils, to make advantage of 'em, their Minority renders a Governor necessary. And who knows but this may be one of the principal Reasons why the Grandson was pitch'd upon for the *Spanish* Succession, rather than the Son? As it would have been more liable to the Exceptions of those whose Interest it is not to suffer the Power of France to be too much aggrandized, if the Dauphin had been made K. of Spain; it would also have been less graceful in the Eyes of the World to have had a Prince of his Years under any other Government but his own. That would no ways have suited with his Title of *Louis le Hardi*, which his Countrymen gave him at the Siege of *Philipsburgh*; for we

we must take notice by the way, that the *French* are now become as complaisant to their Princes, as ever were the most abject and servile *Pagans* or *Easterlings*: They make no scruple to pay them Divine Honours during their Lives, and are so good natur'd as not to let them stay for their *Apotheosis* till the time of their Death.

A second Proof of the Growth of the *French* King's Power, and that *Spain* is wholly govern'd by him, is this, that the *Junto* have order'd all the Viceroy's and Governors of their several Dominions to submit to his Orders; and he hath acquainted them on the other hand, that he hath ordered all the Governors of his Countrys and Towns frontieing upon the *Spanish* Dominions, to supply them with Men, Ammunition, and Money on occasion.

A third, and a very pregnant Proof of it, is this, that they have ordered their Ambassadors at all Courts to act nothing without his Advice; which with the other Instance just now mentioned, is a Demonstration that the *Junto* of *Spain* look upon the Interest of both Monarchies to be the same, and that therefore their Councils and Forces ought to be united. This is an exact Compliance with the *French* King's Instructions to his Ambassador at *Madrid*, that he order'd him to communicate to the Cardinal de *Porto Carero*.

A fourth Evidence of the Growth of the *French* King's Interest is, the Pope's seeming to own the Duke of *Anjou's* Succession, and offering to join with other Princes of *Italy* to oppose the Emperor's Pretensions on *Milan*. What Influence this, and the Mediation of the See of *Rome* with other Popish Princes, may have, is not easy to be imagin'd; but all Men that know the World will readily agree, that it is one of the greatest Points which the *French* King could possibly have gain'd, and that there's

nothing in Nature can have a greater influence upon the bigotted Spaniards, or tend more to bring over such of them as are not well pleased with the Duke of *Anjou's* Succession.

A fifth Evidence of the growing Interest of *France*, is the King of *Portugal's* owning the Duke of *Anjou*. This secures all that side of *Europe* in the *French* Interest; so that he is at more liberty to oppose the Emperor and others every where else.

We may add, as a sixth Evidence, the owning the Duke of *Anjou* as King of *Spain* by the King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Brunswic-Wolfenbittel*, the Bishop of *Munster*, and several Princes of *Italy*.

The Matter being thus, we have all imaginable ground to suspect, that if timely Preventions be not applied, the *French* King's Power will grow more and more every day: for those that don't love him, must be oblig'd to submit to him out of fear, as several have done already; and in process of time he will expect to have all the Potentates of *Europe* following his Triumphal Chariot.

The thoughts of this might be born with more patience, were we to expect to be better'd by his Conquests, as many of those Countrys were which the *Romans* subdued: But instead of that we must look for nothing from the Success of his Arms, but Popery, Slavery, and Poverty, the greatest Mischiefs that can befall Men on this side of Time, and which have a direct tendency to make them miserable to all Eternity.

That this is like to be the Fate of Christendom, if proper and speedy Measures be not taken to bring *France* to Reason, can no ways seem improbable to those that know any thing of History. *Europe* was like to have undergone the same Destiny by the House of *Austria* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, had not God given that glorious

glorious Princes able and honest Counsellors, and Wisdom to follow their Advice. The *French*, as was said before, are more formidable now than the *Austrians* were at that time. *Louis XIV.* hath been as successful as any that ever followed the same Measures since *Nimrod*; what is it then that the World has not to fear from the vast Treasures of the *Indies*, and such a formidable Power in *Europe* under the Conduct of that Prince? We must expect to have those Treasures manag'd at another rate than they have been at any time since the Reign of *Philip IV.* They fall now to the Share of a Monarch, who as he has need of them, knows very well how to make use of them.

He is a Prince of such Observation and Prudence, as to mark the former Errors in the *Spanish* Government, and will certainly take care to avoid them. He knows so much of Trade, and of his Interest to encourage it, that we may be sure he will improve the Treasures of *America*, by erecting Manufactures, and encouraging useful Arts and Sciences, and not suffer his People to consume their Strength and Substance by Idleness, as the *Spaniards* have done under their lame Administration for almost fourscore Years.

This being the Case, there's no likelihood of the *French* King's wanting Troops; and now being Master of the Original Fountain of Money, he seems to be in no danger of wanting wherewith to pay them. The warlike Temper of his Subjects is well enough known already; nor is there any ground to doubt of their advancing in it since their Sinews of War are increas'd.

This deserves our more serious regard, because that as his Riches and Power encrease, ours must decrease in the same proportion. This will appear more plain, if we consider what influence the conjunction of the two Monarchies

narchies is like to have upon the several Branches of our Trade: And

1. Upon that with *Spain*, both as to Import and Export. This is known to be one of the most considerable Branches of our Trade; and being most liable to immediate danger, it deserves our more immediate Care. The *Spanish* Wool is necessary to the working up of our fine Cloth, of which it's computed we may make annually 19034 Pieces, and that we export every year 9034; and considering that our Woolen Manufactory is one of the chief Fountains of our intrinsic Wealth, it would be a very dangerous Blow to that Manufacture, if the *French* should hinder the Importation of *Spanish* Wool into *England*; and that they are likely enough to do so, we have ground to believe from the following Reasons.

(1.) That notwithstanding the Peace, the *French* and we are still at difference as to the point of Trade, there is no Tariff betwixt us and them upon that Head, as there is betwixt them and *Holland*; and therefore we have reason to suspect that they may endeavour the interruption of our Trade with *Spain* out of revenge for the Impost we have laid upon Trade with *France*.

(2.) It's well enough known that the *French* have been endeavouring to set up a Woolen Manufactory of their own, and to have all Materials for Dying, &c. of their native Product, in order to rival our Trade to *Turky* and the *Straits*; and therefore there's no reason to doubt but they will for that end engross to themselves the *Spanish* Wool for working up their fine Cloth, in order to make it the more acceptable; which, considering their own Harbours in the *Mediterranean*, besides the *Spanish* Harbours that are now at their command, they will be able to carry cheaper than we can do, and that they can fail and

and victual cheaper, there's no body will offer to controvert.

(3.) By the same Argument it is evident that they may aim at serving the *Spaniards* with Woollen Manufactories cheaper than we can do, or bring them into the humour of wearing their slight Stuffs, which, considering the warmth of the *Spanish* Climate, and the growing Inclination amongst them of conforming themselves to the *French* Garb, may be of very ill consequence to our Trade of Export into *Spain*. The consequence of this will be very fatal, not only to our *Spanish* Trade, but to that of the *East Indies*. This our Merchants know well enough; for by sending our Woollen Manufactures, &c. to *Spain*, and crediting the *Spaniards* with them to the *West Indies*, &c. we have our great Returns of Bullion, as the Product of our Commodities: and if this Fountain of Money be once stopp'd up, as the *French* will certainly endeavour to have it, we must either export our own Money, which will speedily ruin us, or drop the *East India* and other Trades that require ready Money, and by this means lose our Honour and Wealth both at once. The chief Objection to be made to this is, that the *French* have no occasion for the *Spanish* Wines which we buy in return for our own Commodities. To this we may answer, 1. That the *French*, who are now Masters of *Spain*, will not so much consider the Interest of the *Spaniards*, as the Interest of *France*; and it is certainly the necessary consequence of the *French* Politics to bring that Monarchy still lower, in order to ascertain its Subjection.

The Duke of *Rohan*, in his Treatise of War, hath laid it down as one of the best methods for assuring a Conquest, to deprive those that are conquered of the Inclination and Power to revolt. This seems no way difficult.

difficult to be effected in relation to *Spain*. Their Power hath been so long under a decay, that the *French*, who have now conquered them by their Priests and Pensioners, will easily crush it; and for their Inclinations, they may soon subdue them by flattering their Pride and Bigotry, as I mentioned before. They have an obvious Method to effect this, by assuring the Clergy of their concurrence to destroy the Reformation, by giving their Grantees Places of Honour and Profit, and by a mutual Transplantation of some great Men by turns. The latter is in part begun, as to the *French* already. The Duke of *Harcourt* is admitted into one of the chief Trusts of *Spain*, as the third Person in their Regency, where he must not only know, but have likewise a considerable Influence upon all their Springs of Council and Action, which there's no doubt he will improve to the advantage of *France*. And as this is an early breach upon the Will of their late King, who (*Art. 33d.*) ordered that each of his Kingdoms should be governed by Natives, without any Innovation, because of the great Inconveniencies that had been found by doing the contrary; there's cause enough to suspect that it will be followed by other Infractions of the same nature.

The *French* cannot want Pretensions for doing thus, especially in case of a War, when their Troops and Squadrons will be necessary to maintain the D. of *Anjou* in possession. They will think this a justifiable occasion for putting *French* Governours and Troops in the *Spanish* Frontier Towns and Sea-ports. Their Generals must assist at all Councils of War in the Court and Camp; and by what the *French* have hitherto discovered of their Temper and Genius, the World has no reason to think that they will be more modest than other Auxiliaries use to be in the like cases, they will certainly plead a right to con-

continue their possession till their Charges be reimburs'd, and that the *Spaniards* are uncapable either to pay or dislodge them, he must have very little knowledg of things who will offer to dispute. The *Spaniards* are so sensible of this themselves, that we find them already prepar'd to save their Honour as much as they can, and think it better to put the *French* King in possession by a voluntary Surrender, than to be forc'd to it by military Execution. As a frank Submission is the properest method to avoid being torn in pieces by a powerful Enemy, it seems likewise to be the most probable means to work on their Compassion and Generosity; and therefore the *Spaniards* finding themselves abandon'd, and their Dominions threatned to be divided, have thrown themselves into the arms of a Prince, who being the most capable and most likely of any to annoy them, they hope he may by this means be a little softned, and by consequence prevail'd upon to make their Chains less weighty. It is not indeed altogether excusable, much less reducible to the antient Standard of *Roman* Vertue, that Great Men should fall in with the Enemies of their Country, provided they be secured in a share of its Spoils; yet when they perceive its Ruin to be scarce avoidable, and consider that they have as good a Right to it as ambitious Neighbours or foreign Enemies, the practice of most Courts now adays seems to grant 'em an Indulgence. This will facilitate the Transplantation of *Spanish* Grandees, as formerly mentioned, in order to secure the *French* Possession. The richest of 'em may be sent on Foreign Embassies, the poorest may be employ'd in remote Governments, Civil or Military, in their own Dominions; and all of them by the late free will Offering of the *Spanish* Regency, must be accountable to *France* for their Administration.

What handle the *French* may make of this is scarcely conceivable; but so much is obvious, that they must be very Dotards in Politicks, if they don't improve it to bring all the *Spaniards* to offer Incense at their Altars, to depend upon them for their Honours and Preferments, and by consequence to be rendred incapable of caballing together against their Interest.

To return to the Objection, that the *French* are not like to outrival us in the Trade of *Spain*, because they have no need of their Wines; it may be answered in the 2^d place, That this does not hinder but the *French* may be both Merchants and Carriers for the Wines of *Spain*, and sell it to us and others who have occasion for it. There's a Precedent of the like nature as to the Herrings and other Salt-fish of *Scotland*, the *French* refuse to deal with the *Scots* for them, because of the *English* Imposts upon *French* Commodities, but buy them from the *Dutch* at a dearer rate than they were offer'd by the *Scots*. The *French* then may propose to the *Spaniards* to export the like Quantity of their Commodities as the *English* did, provided they discharge our Commerce; and if this should be the case, the *Spaniards* must not refuse it.

The 2^d Branch of our Trade, which the *French* by their Union with *Spain* may deprive us of, is that to the Mediterranean and *Levant* in general. This they may easily effect by denying us the Road and Harbour of *Cadiz*, and posting a Squadron of Men of War there to keep us out. By this means we shall have no place to ly in for a proper Wind to carry us up the Straits. But supposing, that it were possible for us to order it so as not to need that Harbour and Road, it is in the power of *France* and *Spain* to make the Straits unpassable for us or any other Nation without their leave, and paying a Toll.

Toll. This is demonstrable enough to those who consider the situation of *Gibraltar* and *Centa*, how narrow the Straits is there, and how easily Forts may be raised on both sides, and Frigats lodged there to interrupt the Passage of Shipping. Who knows but the *French King* may revive *Oliver's Project* of reducing the *Peninsula* of *Gibraltar* into a perfect Island? This is much short of many Works which *Louis XIV.* hath undertaken and perform'd out of meer humour and ostentation; and if he should effect this, as 'twould be a certain method to prevent our passing the Straits without his leave, it would prove a severe Curb in the Jaws of the *Spaniards*, if ever they recover so much Wisdom or Ability as to reassert their true Interests. Or if neither of these would do, Experience hath taught us that several Kings of *France* have thought it no way inconsistent with their Title of most Christian, to unite the Cross and the Crescent in the honourable design of enslaving Christendom; nor have some of them thought it unbecoming a deified or immortal Man to stoop to mean Treaties with the *Mahometan Pirates* of *Barbary*, and therefore we have no reason to think it would be any way scrupl'd at present, to engage the Corsairs to give their assistance in ruining our Trade to the Straits. The Terror of the *Spanish* Garisons on the Coast of *Africk* mann'd with *French* Troops, and assisted by *French* Ships, would soon oblige them to things that they have less Inclination to than this. Or if all these Methods should fail, which is next to impossible, there is another still in reserve, and that is, to engage the *Turks* in a Treaty to discharge our Manufactures. On this condition the *French* will undertake to furnish them cheaper, which by the assistance of the *Spanish* Wool, &c. as has been already said, they may easily

do ; and as a further and principal Inducement, the *French King* will promise a powerful Diversion to the Empire, in order to give the *Turks* an opportunity of recovering what they have lost in *Hungary*, &c. We have no reason to fear any Scruples from the *Turks*, on the Topics of Honour and Conscience ; for the *Grand Senior's* Casuists may not only plead a distinction betwixt the Design and the Terms of the Treaty, as those of the *French King* do, but they have likewise the *Mahometan* Law on their side, which positively forbids the surrender of any thing they have conquered : so that this is one thing among others wherein it's better to be a *Turk* than a *Romish Christian*.

From all this it is more than evident, that 'tis in the Power of *France* and *Spain*, whilst thus conjoin'd, entirely to ruin our Trade to *Turkey* and the Straits, which hath been of so much Honour and Advantage to *England*. In order to prevent this, and the Ruin of our Trade to *Spain*, as it would seem necessary to make use of early and forcible Preventions, by Alliances abroad, and vigorous Attempts by Sea ; It seems to be no less our Interest to take more effectual Methods to prevent the exportation of our Wool to *France* than have hitherto been fall'n upon. It is not enough for this End to erect new Employments to be conferr'd by this or the other Person upon their Dependants and Friends ; but care ought to be taken to have such Posts filled with Men that are thoroughly well affected to the *English* Constitution, and have rather given Proofs of it by suffering for their Country when 'twas oppress'd, than by fawning upon a Government which they found it not safe to oppose: such Persons are always sure to swim with the Stream, they are liable to Corruption and Bribery by Foreign Enemies as well as Domestic Oppressors : and how dangerous that
may

may be in such a bribing Age as this, we may easily conjecture. Men of that Kidney, as they have concurr'd with our Enemies in undermining our Trade, have been the ordinary Channels of their traiterous Correspondence; and therefore those Posts, tho not very great in themselves, ought not to be prostituted to particular Favour or Interest, but dispos'd of solely for the Public Advantage, and perhaps by a more Public Authority than they have been hitherto.

A third Branch of our Trade, and which merits our deepest Consideration, is that to our *American* Plantations: The Consequence of that Commerce, and the vast Advantage, as well as Honour, that accrues thence to the *English* Nation, is so well known, that the sole mention of its being in danger, ought to awaken our most serious Thoughts, and put us upon the most vigorous Efforts to prevent it. It's very well known how much this Nation was alarm'd by the *Scots* Act of Parliament, and their Settlement in the *West-Indies*. What is it then we ought not to dread as to our Trade thither, from the united Powers of *France* and *Spain*? Since both of them, when divided, were our Enemies and Rivals on that account, their Union will certainly heighten their Resolution, because they have more Power to execute what they resolve. The Treaty of Commerce betwixt us and *Spain*, will prove but a feeble Defence against the new *French* Mode of Argumentation. The refin'd Distinction between the Terms and the Design of a Treaty, is like to become of as great use to Roman Catholic Princes, as the Doctrine of Probable Opinions and Philosophical Sin hath been to their Priests; for as there can scarcely be any Crime so black, but what the latter may palliate, there's no Breach of Treaty so foul but what the former may excuse.

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But if that will not do, there's another Method for which the World is likewise oblig'd to *French* Gratitude and Ingenuity, and that is to accuse and make us odious to the *Spaniards* for the Treaty of Partition, tho the same was formed by *French* Instigation. They have already libell'd us in their *Manifesto* to the *Dutch*, as offering to dispose of Kingdoms and Provinces, that we had no Right to. The plain meaning of which is, that they charge the Treaters as being guilty of the greatest Injustice that ever were Nations; they libel them as imposing Sovereigns upon People without their own consent, and disposing of Kingdoms and Provinces, of Men, as if they were brute Beasts or wandering Herds, that have no Right to dispose of themselves, nor no Master to claim any Property in them. They have likewise charg'd us with destroying the Ballance of Christendom, by making such a considerable addition of Dominions and Strength to the Power of *France*, which is but too formidable already. This is a direct Arraignment of the Treaters at the Bar of all *Europe*, as having entered into a Conspiracy against their Common Liberty. Nor have they forgotten to accuse the Treaters to the People of *England* and *Holland*, as having thereby endangered their Trade to the *Mediterranean*. They charge them likewise to their own Subjects, with another Criminal Omission, which is, that they stipulated nothing for themselves: the plain *English* of this is, that tho the Treaters were oblig'd, in order to perform the Treaty, to make use of the Blood and Treasure of their Subjects, yet they had so little regard to them, that they stipulated nothing either for their Liberty, Trade, or Religion, or for their Protestant Brethren any where else.

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But this is not all, they further charge the Treaters with Imprudence and Folly, in taking such Measures as were no ways proper for accomplishing the design'd End. It's own'd in the *Memorial*, that the Design of the Treaters was to preserve the Peace of *Europe*; but at the same time the *French* say, that the keeping to that Treaty now, would be productive of infinite Troubles and Misfortunes common to all. There cannot be a greater Impeachment of the Wisdom of the other Treaters than this, which certainly they have all the reason in the World to resent, and so much the more, that it's the common Frailty of Mankind, that they had rather be accounted Wicked than Weak.

Since the *French* have been so ungrateful and malicious in their Charge already, we have no reason to question but they are capable of making further Advances, and that they will likewise endeavour to render us odious to the *Spaniards*, as having readily concurred to break the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*; by which the *French* Line was excluded for ever from the *Spanish* Succession, and that we were more careful to have *Spain* made less than to prevent *France's* being made greater. Nor are we to doubt but they will make the like odious Improvement of it at the Court of *Vienna*; and not only charge us with Ingratitude to abandon our Allies in the late War, by the Treaty of Partition, but likewise with unfaithfulness to our own Principles, by concurring in a Treaty to break that of the *Pyrenees*, which was so solemn, and wherein the Name of God was invok'd; this they will readily improve to the disadvantage of the Religion which we profess, and endeavour to make the Reformation more hateful upon that account, to those who are already its declar'd Enemies. It's true, we may recriminate upon them, and charge

charge them, not only as Partners, but also as the principal Authors of that now so-much decried Treaty. We might likewise charge them with following in this, the Example of the God of this World, who accuses Mankind for those very Crimes which he tempts them to commit: But this perhaps they will look upon as no great Imputation, since it's so common for those who are, or would be absolute Monarchs, rather to follow the Dictates of that wicked Spirit, than the Commands of the great God of Heaven and Earth: Besides, the *French* have several other things to keep them in Countenance against that, or a yet heavier Charge. They plead the non-performance of that Treaty on the part of *Spain*, and their natural Right to the Succession; or if that will not do, they are certain of Popish Absolution, which in their Opinion makes him, that's the blackest Criminal to day, as innocent as the Child unborn to morrow. Nay further, if it be but design'd for the Service of Holy Catholic Church, as no question they will pretend it to be; that's enough to transform the ugliest Crime into the brightest Merit. I have neither room nor time, nor will I presume to defend the other Parties to the Treaty of Partition, they are able to imploy much better Advocates if they find it needful; but thus much may be fairly advanc'd, that the *French* have made War upon their Neighbours on far less provocation; and if *England* and *Holland* should think it proper to make them answer at the Swords point for the dishonour they have done them by engaging them in a Treaty which they never design'd to perform, no man could blame them for it: but there's no occasion for making that the Sole Cause, if they find it their Interest to enter into a War. They need do no more but turn the *French* Argument upon themselves, and tell them, that since *Lewis XIV.* hath disown'd the Treaty

Treaty of Partition to be the proper means for continuing the Peace of *Europe*, they on the other hand don't think the Union of *France* and *Spain* to be the proper means for that End; wherein we may adventure to say, they will have most of *Christendom* beside of their Sentiments: and therefore they demand a New security for the Balance of *Europe*, or tell the *French* that they must take proper Measures to secure themselves and others from being swallowed up by those two Crowns. If they should do thus, and press the *French* to keep to the Design of the Treaty, since they have disapprov'd of the Terms, with what face could they deny it? They must not take upon them to be both Judg and Party in their own Cause; and if it be referred to any indifferent Judg, we may easily guess at the decision.

But to return to the Danger of our *West-India* Trade. The *French* being united with the *Spaniards*, or rather having them under command, will certainly find Pretences enough to annoy us in the *West-Indies*. They have now a Right to take the *Spanish* Plantations into their protection, and under that pretence may renew the Pretensions of the *Spaniards* to the Right of the discovery of the whole, or at least settle themselves on *Mississipi* River, or any where else, from whence they can best annoy our Northern Plantations of *New York*, *Jersey*, *Carolina*, *Maryland*, *New England*, &c. the Trade of which they may destroy that way by their Commerce with *Canada*; and by interrupting the Trade of those Northern Plantations with our Southern Colonies, they bid fair for destroying them both. Of what mischievous Consequence that would be to the Nation, cannot easily be imagin'd, tho it may in part be guess'd at, if we consider, that according to the Computations of those who have

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made

made it their business to enquire into the state of our Trade, as *Dr. Davenant* in particular, our annual Export to *America* is calculated to be about 350000*l. per an.* and our National Gain by that Trade is computed at 600000*l. per an.* or if we suppose, as it is concluded by some, that there are employ'd by the *English* in *America* 100000 *Negroes*, and that the Product of the Labour of every 100 *Negroes* be according to the common valuation estimated at 1600*l. per an.* *England* gains by that alone 1600000*l. per an.* which, be it more or less, is sufficient to shew that the Destruction of our Plantations, or the depriving us of their Trade, if the *French* and *Spaniards* should conquer them, would be such a loss to *England*, as could neither be computed nor retrieved.

But besides the loss of our Trade, what a melancholy Subject of Reflection would it be to consider that 200000 of our Native Brethren, or their descendants in *America*, should be either destroy'd by the *French* and *Spaniards*, or forc'd to apostatize to the *Roman* Idolatry? What an enlargement would this be to the Popish Interest, and how fatal to the Reformation? But since this thought can only find room in the Breasts of those who have a due Concern for Religion, let us take it by another handle, and consider what loss and grief it would be to the People of this Nation, to have so many Friends and Relations as they have in those Countrys, either put to the Sword by the common Enemy, or condemn'd to their Mines, and other intolerable Slavery. There's no reason to expect that the *French* and *Spaniards*, who are equally influenc'd with the bloody and barbarous Principles of the Church of *Rome*, would deal more favourably with Protestants, than the *Spaniards* did with the Natives of *America* when they first settled there.

There's yet another Consideration which may perhaps meet:

meet with those that have but little regard to their Countrymen or Religion in *America*, and is thus, How is it possible that the People of *England* could dispense with the annual Import of the Commodities we have from those Countries, as Tobacco, Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, *Jamaica* Pepper, Fustic-Wood, Logwood, Indico, Cacao, Pipestaves, Masts, Furs, Fish from *Newfoundland*, &c. when we should not only lose what of those things is necessary for our own Consumption, but lose the gain we have by the Export of our own native Product, for which we have those Commodities in return, and when we should likewise be depriv'd of the Gain we have by exporting into other Countries of *Europe* what we have no occasion for our selves. This would not only be a hardship upon those who live in Affluence, not to say Luxury, but the ruin of many thousands of Familys that have their subsistence by preparing our own Commodities which are exported for carrying on that Trade, or by their dependance upon the Shipping employ'd in that Commerce.

If any man should object, That we magnify the danger, and look at every thing thro a multiplying Glass; let em weigh the matter duly in their own thoughts, and they will find that these Apprehensions are not the effects of a high wrought melancholy, but the result of rational Fears. It's known by experience how much the *French* have injur'd us already in our Trade to *Newfoundland* and *Hudsons Bay*. The Earl of Bellomont, in several of his late Speeches to the Representatives of our Northern Plantations, hath demonstrated the danger they are in from the *French* Colonies, and their Practices with the neighbouring *Indians*; and therefore considering the great Strength of the *French* at Sea, and their opportunity of improving it by their Union with the *Spaniards*, and the

Treasures of *America*, our Fears are but too well grounded: and if timely and effectual care be not taken to prevent their Designs, what we fear is like to come too speedily upon us.

The next Branch of our Trade we shall consider, is that to *Africa*. That part of it on the side of the Straits, as has been demonstrated already, is entirely at the mercy of the *French* and *Spaniards*; and for that on the side of the *Atlantic*, or beyond the Tropic of *Cancer* and the Equinoctial Line, they did us considerable Damage during the late Wars, by destroying our Forts and Colonies. It must be own'd then as evident, that they are more capable of doing us damage in that Trade at present by their Union with the *Spaniards*, not only because of their united Naval Force to disturb us in that Commerce, but likewise as to the Slave-Trade, wherein they may easily prevail with the *Spaniards* to buy no Slaves from us, on condition that they will furnish them cheaper, which at first may be the pretence, and then no doubt they will afterwards make their own Markets with the *Spaniards*, and by that means stop up that other source of our Bullion from the *W. Indies*, and the benefit we have of improving it at *Jamaica*, &c. and importing from thence the Product of those Places to *England*, which not only furnishes Materials for our own consumption, but for a foreign Trade. And besides this damage, they will ruin our Commerce in Elephants Teeth and Gold Dust, which not only deprives us of the advantage we have by the Freight and Sale of the Commodities we export and import by means of that Commerce; but will be a further stop to our Coinage and the Circulation of Money amongst us. And in the last place, being Masters at Sea, they will prevent our *African Company's* serving *Jamaica* and our other

other Plantations with Slaves, whose Labour in the *West Indies* is the principal part of our Riches ; and by that means alone they may ruin those valuable Plantations.

We shall next consider the Influence this Union may have on our *East-India* Trade. It was hinted before, that the *French* by such an accession of Strength will be more capable of disturbing us as we go and come ; that they seem to have a fair prospect of depriving us of our ready Money, without which it cannot be carried on ; that if they either subdue the *Dutch*, or bring them to a Treaty on their own terms, which without our assisting the *Dutch* is very possible, both their Factories will combine to destroy ours in the *East Indies*. To this may be added, that by rendering themselves Masters of the Coast of *Africa* on the *Atlantick*, &c. they deprive us of all places of Retreat or Refreshment at the *Cape of Good Hope*, or any where else. They may either give Commissions to the Pirates of *Madagascar* to disturb us in our Voyages, or lodge Ships of their own there for that end. By their Interest with the Great *Mogul*, and other Eastern Potentates, which in such a case must needs over-balance ours, they may procure a discharge of our Commerce in those parts ; and by their Increase of Power in the Narrow Seas, they may prevent our exportation of those Commodities into other parts of *Europe*, if we should be so happy as to bring our Cargo safe home.

How fatal this would be to *England*, is very discernable, if we consider, 1. That our Shipping, Stock and Men employ'd that way, must lie by as useless, and by consequence we lose all the gain the Nation had by this Trade ; and that it is very considerable, appears by the following Calculations made by Dr. *Davenant* : Our annual

al Exports thither in Bullion and Goods, he computes
at 500000 *l.* per Ann.

The Returns ————— 1800000

Consum'd at home ————— 1300000

Re-exported to *Europe* ————— 500000

Gain'd by that Export ————— 180000

To which if we add what he says (in his *Discourse on the East-India Trade*) we save by lowering the price of foreign Silks and Linens, and in the consumption of our home Materials, which these Goods supply, and whereby our Exportation is enlarg'd, we gain'd and sav'd annually by that Trade 680000 *l.*

From which it is likewise evident, that by the loss of our *East India Trade*, we lose also a great part of our *European Trade*, both as Merchants and Carriers. We lose also the benefit of Salt Petre for making Powder in order to defend our selves; which is so much the more considerable, that this Loss can be no other way made up to us; and therefore if the *French* by conquering the *Dutch*, or bringing them to a Treaty upon their own Terms, ingross this Commodity, by being Masters of the Trade to the *East Indies*, they disarm all the rest of *Europe*, and may easily set up that Universal Monarchy, which they have so long, so industriously, and so ambitiously sought after. And by the loss of our foreign Trade in general, we decrease in our Shipping and Seamen, which make so great a part of our Strength.

We come in the last place to consider our *European Trade* in general. By what has been said already, it is evident that a great part of it depends upon our Trade to the *East* and *West Indies*, which once being ruin'd, our *European Trade* must fall; or if it should not, the *French* being Masters at Sea, and united with *Spain*, we can-

cannot carry it on. By that unhappy Union, our Trade with *Spain*, the Straits and the *Levant*, which is the best of our Trade in *Europe*, is in visible and eminent danger. If once the *French* become Masters of *Holland*, our Trade to *Germany* and the East Country will be totally ruin'd; and as it is, the use of the Harbours of *Newport* and *Ostend*, join'd to those of *Dunkirk*, *Gravelin* and *Calais*, does very much endanger it, and will have a particular Influence upon our Woolen Manufacture, which has a great Vent that way.

The Wool of *England* is computed to make annually two Millions, when manufactur'd it's suppos'd it may amount to eight Millions. Of these Manufactures it's reckon'd there may be exported every year two Millions; for which if we allow but 10 *per. Cent* for Freight and Returns, it amounts to 200000 *l.* gain annually to the Nation. By this it appears how prejudicial a stop to the Export of our Woolen Manufactory would be to the Kingdom, and how many Families that depend upon it, must be utterly destroy'd.

As to our Fishing Trade, which is already so much ingross'd by the *Dutch* and *French*, we must expect to have it totally ruin'd, if a stop be not speedily put to the growth of *France*. The *Dutch* have already made themselves so much Masters of that Trade, that they will scarcely allow us to fish in our own Seas; and when once they come to be subdued by *France*, or to join with her, we cannot set out a fisher-Boat, but what will be in danger of falling into their hands, as was evident from the trouble the *Dunkirkers* gave our poor mackrel Boats during the late War.

To sum up this Matter of Foreign Trade in a few Words. The profit we reap by it, is computed at two millions *per annum*, and so much we are in danger of losing by the exorbitant Greatness of *France*.

It

It were still some comfort if our Danger were to terminate here ; but there's no Man of sense can suppose it does, for we are not only in danger of being outed of all our Trade abroad, but of being invaded at home. The *French* and *Spaniards* are sensible that 'twas we who render'd their Designs for the Universal Monarchy abortive, when they successively attempted it ; they are no less sensible, that so long as we remain entire, they cannot easily succeed in it, tho' their Councils and Forces be united. To this we may add their hatred to us on the account of our Religion, and their Obligation to restore our Abdicated Prince and his Issue ; or perhaps their Inclination rather to settle a *French* Prince upon our Throne, make us feudatory to *France*, and impoverish us so, that we shall be in no condition henceforward to disturb them in the prosecution of their Designs to establish an Universal Monarchy, and to root out that which they call the *Northern Heresie*.

The Case being thus, and our Danger so great and near at hand, it remains that we should consider what may be attempted with most probability, to save us from the impending Storm.

It follows plainly, from the Prospect and Nature of our Danger, that our chief Security must, under the Divine Protection, consist in a good Fleet, that is to say, such an one as may enable us to defend our own Coasts from Invasions, to protect our Foreign Trade, and to annoy the publick Enemy, either in their own Countries, or Foreign Plantations on occasion. For this we are already very well provided, having at least 179 Men of War, to which if we add the *Dutch* Naval Force, as it is in our power to do by a strict Alliance, there's nothing humanely speaking, that we have reason to fear, provided those Fleets be well mann'd and victual'd, and commanded by such as are known to be Men of Integrity and Honour.

In order to this, it's highly reasonable that our Parliament, who are entrusted with the disposal of our Purse, should assist his Majesty with their best Advice; as being at one and the same time his Majestys great Council, and the Peoples Representative. This gives them a great and undoubted Concern to advise who are fit to be entrusted with the Nation's Defence, who are proper to have the disposal of their Money, and to take care that none be employed in those weighty Affairs, but Men of publick Spirits who will be more intent upon preserving our Honour and Trade, than upon raising Estates to themselves out of the publick Money. This is a thing that ought at all times to be carefully regarded, but especially at such a Juncture as this, when we are just come out of a tedious and expensive War, and like to be forced into another, except we have a mind to look on and see all *Europe* enslav'd; by which we shall entitle ourselves to the heaviest Chains at last, without either Pity or Compassion.

It's the happiness of our Constitution, that we cannot be tax'd without our own Consent, as are most other Monarchies in *Europe*; and we are further happy in a Sovereign, who hath, contrary to the manner of some of his Predecessors, always testify'd his willingness that they who grant the Money, should also appoint Inspectors into the publick Accounts; so that if any Mismanagement happen in that matter, we must blame ourselves. As this affords a good opportunity for publick Spirits to appear for the Interest of their Country, it's high time they should. 'Twould be meritorious for Men of Honour and Estate, to serve the Nation in such publick Employments on such a pressing Occasion, either for no Salary at all, or at least for no more then would just bear their Expences. The frugality of our Neigh-

E

bours,

bours, the Dutch, in their Allowances for publick Service, is one of their best Preservatives against Corruption and Bribery : Their Sallaries are not Tentation enough for Men of covetous Tempers to court their State Employments, by which means they are generally conferr'd upon Men of Vertue, Merit, and Substance, who serve their Country for Honour, and are not easily bought off from its Interests. It was a just Observation of a Spanish Minister at their first Revolt, that they would ruin his Master by their Frugality ; and since the Event hath verified the *Prophecy* ; their Example in this matter is well worth our Imitation.

Tho' our chief Security consists in a good Fleet, yet this must not dispense with our want of a competent Land-Force, lest we become too great a Temptation to Enemies abroad, and Malecontents at home ; but since the Liberties of *France* and *Denmark* were both swallow'd up by Standing-Armies, and that our own Constitution of King and Parliament was quite subverted by *Oliver* and the Army under his Command, the Jealousies of the Nation against Standing Troops ought not to be despis'd no more than they are to be fomented. As there's a due regard to be had to the danger that threatens us from abroad, a proportionable care ought to be taken to prevent Jealousies against a Standing-Army at home. This, it's humbly conceiv'd, may easily be provided against by the mutual Concurrence of King and Parliament in such Regulations, as to the Command and Number of those Troops, as in their joint Wisdom shall be found meet.

Tho' there be no danger as to that Matter from his Majesty, that is not sufficient Security to the Nation : *Oliver*, who was only a Lieutenant-General, manag'd his Army so, that they would neither obey King, Parliament, nor General, but took upon them the Legislative

gislative Power of the Nation; stop'd and forwarded such Acts as they thought meet; laid the Country under Contribution, and gave some of their common Troopers, call'd Agitators, more Authority than they would allow the House of Commons. They proceeded so far at last, as entirely to subvert our Constitution; cut off the King, turn'd the Parliament out of Doors, and at length, to the great happiness of the Nation, concluded in a perfect Anarchy, which terminated in the Ruin and Dissolution of themselves; whereas, had they agreed upon any certain Head, or continued firm to any Model of Government, they might in all probability have kep'd us under Subjection to a Military Power to this very day: We have no certainty of his Majesty's or the Princess's life; we know not who is to succeed them, and therefore are the more in danger by a Standing Army in case of their Demise. There is no Security to be given us, that mercenary Troops, under the Command of ambitious and politick Leaders, will not in such a Case be gain'd, by Money, to concur with the French to restore the late King or his pretended Issue, which can never happen without the total overthrow of our Religion and Liberty, and perhaps of our Sovereignty too; for there is no likelihood that the French will subdue this Nation for the late King, if they find it any way possible to keep it for themselves; which in such a Case cannot be suppos'd to be very difficult.

There's nothing of this urg'd to combat the necessity of a Land-Force, in case of a War, but only to evince that as we are stated at present, there seems to be a necessity that both the Constituent parts of our Government should concern themselves more than ordinary to remove all those things, of which ill Men may make a handle to create a Jealousie in them of one another, or

in the *People*, of both or either of them. It is not the part of a wise or good Man to dispute the executive *Power* which our Laws lodge in the King ; but since it 'tis impossible for his Majesty to do all that belongs to the executive Power in his own Person, and that our Laws in most cases of importance determine the *Qualifications* of those that are to be intrusted with the Administration, our Legislators ought in all reason to be thought the most proper Judges as to Persons duely qualify'd to administer. And as this is necessary to be allow'd at all times, it seems to be more especially so at this time, when we have the misfortune to be divided into Factions at home, have a powerful and crafty Enemy abroad, and a party of Men within our own Bowels that are justly suspected of playing his Game. A mutual Confidence and good Understanding betwixt the King and Parliament, is the best Method in the World to obviate Jealousies among our selves of an undue Advancement of Prerogative on the one hand, or of an Intrenchment upon it on the other. It is evident from our History, that we have been oftner endanger'd by the former than by the latter ; that the only way of avoiding both, was when our Kings acted in Concert with their great Council the Parliament, and that those who behaved themselves otherwise, and govern'd more by Favourites than by the Advice of our Representatives, were never happy nor successful.

Queen *Elizabeth* remains a glorious Instance of what our Monarchy is capable to do when acted by wise Councils, and united with their Parliaments. In a word, let our Government be in a Woman or a Child, as it was in the time of that excellent Princess and her Brother K. *Ed. VI.* If the Administration be manag'd by the Advice and Authority of Parliaments freely and fairly

ly elected; we are capable of advancing our selves and of keeping the Ballance of *Europe* in an Equilibrium. Whereas on the contrary, is evident from Experience that tho' the personal Endowments and Qualifications of our *Princes* be never so great, if the Harmony betwixt them and their *Parliaments* be once interrupted, they are not able to maintain the dignity of their Character, nor to support the Glory of their Crown at home or abroad: The Reason is obvious; in a limited Government such as ours is, and 'tis hop'd will for ever be, where Subjects apprehend an Invasion upon their Liberty and Rights, the *Prince* can never be assur'd of their *Persons* or *Purses*, nor have any certain dependance upon their Allegiance. It is natural for all Men to wish themselves rid of the Objects of their Fear, or of a burden that presses too heavy upon them. There was not one of our four last *Princes* but would own this in Theory, however remote from it they were in practice. Remarkable to this purpose was the Opinion of King *Charles II.* in relation to the *Prince of Orange*, now our Gracious Sovereign, Sir *William Temple* giving an account of it in his Conference with *M. de Witt*, relates it thus. ' I told him 'twas true that there wanted not some amongst us that would be so wise to know that 'twas impossible for us ever to fall into any firm Confidence with the States upon their present Constitution, nor particularly with him, upon the *Prince of Orange's* Occasion: That, for my part I was not at all of that Mind. That tho' the King could not lose the Affection he had for his Nephew; yet he was of Opinion he could not express it better than by infusing into him the belief, that he could make himself no way so happy as in the good will of the States, trusting wholly to them in the Course of his Fortunes, and not to private
' Factions

‘ Factions or Forreign Intrigues and Applications, that
 ‘ his Majesty was of an Opinion himself, **That Princes**
 ‘ **were not apt to do themselves more hurt, and**
 ‘ **make themselves less any ways, than by**
 ‘ **affecting too much Power, or such as was di-**
 ‘ **rectly contrary to the Stomach and Genius of**
 ‘ **the Country which fell to their Share.** To
 this we shall add what Sir *William* says afterwards of the
 Genius of the People of *England*, which no Man was
 better able to give an Account of than himself. ‘ And
 ‘ besides this says (says he) I know his Majesty was so just
 ‘ and so reasonable, that tho’ he should take kindly of the
 ‘ States any Respects they should shew his Nephew, yet
 ‘ I did not believe he would offer that to any other
 ‘ King or State which he should not take well any other
 ‘ should offer to him, and, ‘ *I did not believe he would*
 ‘ *ever be put upon any such Designs by his Council or his*
 ‘ *Peoples Inclinations, for they who look’d upon the Prince*
 ‘ *in a probability of one day coming to be their King, and*
 ‘ *that loved a Prince who grounded his Power in the Affecti-*
 ‘ *ons of his People; and lov’d to rule by Laws; had rather*
 ‘ *perhaps see the Prince of Orange happy in the good will*
 ‘ *of the States, and such moderate Power as they should*
 ‘ *think consistent with their Government, than of a humour*
 ‘ *to aim at any thing that might tend to subvert their Ci-*
 ‘ *vil Constitutions.* *

From all this it naturally results, that the Kings of
Great-Britain have no occasion to bethink themselves of
 any new Schemes or Models of Government, they
 have a plain and beaten Path before them, which is to take
 care that their Parliaments be freely elected; and to act
 by their Advice; Thus they may assure themselves of the

* Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. 2. p. 13, 14.

Hearts and Hands, and Purses of their Subjects, and by so doing they infallibly arrive at the highest pitch of Glory, that any Prince on Earth ought to aim at; that is to be lov'd at home and dreaded abroad, to be capable of doing good to all *Europe*, and of preventing the Slavery of *Christendom*.

Our Kings have of late been fond of the Title of God's Vicegerents, an excellent Title it was, nor could the Wisdom of Man fix upon another that is more expressive of a Princes Duty. The King of Kings assumes no higher Prerogative over his Subjects, (tho' he gives them their Being) than to prescribe them Laws conducing to their own Welfare, to make what they do for his Glory their certain advantage as well as their Duty, to reward those who observe his Laws, and to punish such as break them. But if there be such Monarchs in the World, as make their own Will and Humour the chief Measure of their Subjects Obedience, who advance their Prerogative to the Detriment of their people, who, provided they themselves be great, care not how low they keep their Subjects, who promote and employ vitious Men, whilst they neglect or oppress those that are Vertuous, they may assume to themselves the Title of most Christian, most Sacred, most Excellent, or what they please, but it's plain that whilst they act thus, they are so far from being Vicegerents to God, that they are Lieutenants to his greatest Enemy.

If this be objected against as an impertinent Digression, I shall make no other Apology for it, but that I thought it necessary in order, to obviate those Mistakes about Government, which some Men are again advancing among us. They would fain perswade the World that Kings and Subjects have separate Interests; that Princes are **Self-holders** as the Czar of *Muscovy* entitles

entitles himself, and that Subjects are so much their Property as that in no case they may resist them. Where such Maxims are once sow'd, the natural product must needs be Tyranny. 'Twas those Principles made *James I.* uneasy, brought *Charles I.* to the Block, made *Charles II.* an Exile, and brought *James II.* to Abdication. 'Twas those Principles which receiv'd their mortal Wound by King *Williams* Sword at the happy Revolution, nor will any *Person* or *Party* attempt to heal it, under any other name or pretext whatsoever, but such as at the same time, will contribute their utmost Endeavours, (whether they think so or not) to heal the deadly Wound of the Apocalyptical Beast. Tyranny and Idolatry are the two Essential Constituents of Antichrists Empire, and where ever the former takes place, the latter pretends a Right to follow. It's the most unaccountable thing in the World to see Clergymen of all denominations in general; so little sensible of this, tho' the Experience of all Ages amounts to a demonstration that Tyranny, absolute *Power*; exalted Prerogative, or call it what you will, is productive of the greatest and most enormous Crimes, that Humane Nature is capable of, and always concludes in the oppression of the best and most devout Men. Then if the Tree must be known by its Fruit, as our Saviour himself hath told us, we may reasonably conclude, that unaccountable *Power* in any Man on Earth was never planted by Heaven.

Some Men who formerly propagated, and endeavouring to revive those Principles among us, by bringing their Disciples into the Legislation, &c. may usurp the Character of Ambassadors from the Prince of *Peace*, and dignifie and distinguish themselves by what other titles they please; They may impose upon us *Samuel's Prophecy* of
Saul's

Saul's Tyranny * instead of *Moses*, Rule for a King's Duty†; but this I will make bold to tell them, that *St. Paul's* Definition of a King or Supreme Power, as one that's ordain'd to protect the good and punish the bad; and that for this, and no other Cause, the People owe them Subjection and Revenue ||, will have more weight with all honest and sensible Men, than their Heterodox Lectures of *Passive Obedience*. Let these Men, if they be Ambassadors from Heaven, turn over their divinely inspir'd Credentials as often as they please, they will not find one Syllable in their Instructions, authorizing them to teach the People, that he who came to save their Souls from the God of this World, order'd that their Bodies should be Slaves to the Princes of it. Such Men as these, with their Disciples and Adherents, are the most dangerous People that can come near a Throne; they make Kings believe they are Gods when they are but Men; and therefore our Legislators are peculiarly concern'd to beware of their Councils and Dictates; and all Nations that would preserve their Liberty, ought to guard against the Advancement of any such Men to places of *Power* and *Trust*. In like manner, such *Princes* as would prevent the Jealousies of their Subjects, should beware how they promote or employ Men of that Complexion, especially if they have been formerly active to enslave the Nation; such Men except they be reform'd, can serve for nothing but to encrease the Jealousies of the Subject, and to betray any Government that is founded upon *Principles* of Liberty. This they may do as effectually, by surprizing *Princes*

* 1 Sam. 8. from the ninth Verse to the end of the Chapter.

† Deut. 17. from the fourteenth Verse to the end of the Chapter.

|| Rom. 13. from the beginning to the eighth Verse.

into Arbitrary Methods, formerly practis'd, as by entertaining Correspondence with their profess'd Enemies. It can no ways be safe for a Government, establish'd upon a Legal Foundation and English Principles, to entrust such Men in Posts of Importance, in case of a War against those who espouse the Cause of an abdicated Prince, whose Title their Principles must needs induce them to think good.

On the other Hand, it is every way as improper to imploy and advance such Men, as by taking of Bribes, raising to themselves great Estates by publick Posts, and falling in with measures that may endanger our Constitution, have brought a scandal upon their former Principles. The Divine Lawgiver hath told us, that the Test by which Men should qualify themselves for publick Employments, is to *fear God and bate Covetousness*. Lofty Titles, great Friends, and the favour of Princes, are not capable of inspiring Men with those Qualifications; and therefore ought not to be the determining Characters of those that are fit to serve the *Publick*, unless to all or any of these, there be added Integrity and Virtue; if that be wanting, the Kingdom may be ruined instead of being served by those in publick Posts: [*non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis, tempus eget.*] And therefore since 'tis impossible that *Princes*, tho' of the most enlarg'd Capacity, can depend upon that which they call their *Certain Knowledge* for the true Character of persons fit to serve them in all publick Stations, the Advice of the great Council of the Nation, at such a Juncture as this, seems not only convenient but highly necessary. That's the most probable way of having the Government duely supported, of having all these Jealousies, so industriously suggested by ill Men, intirely removed, and all just Reflections upon the Administration obviated.

It's

It's one of the greatest disadvantages to which any Government can be liable, to be oblig'd to toss the Administration from Faction to Faction; such a Management can never be steady at home, nor depended upon by its Allies abroad. This was the reason that in King *Charles II's* Reign, the Dutch, when we came to treat with them, objected the unsteadiness of our Councils; and told us, ' That since Queen *Elizabeth's* Time there had been nothing but perpetual Fluctuation in our Conduct; so ' that they could not rely on our Measures for two Years ' together. † (as Sir *William Temple* informs us.) To which it is proper to add what that able Minister said on much such another Occasion as what we now speak of, ' * That without great Vertue and Steadiness in the Government, and Resolution of going through with ' whatsoever is thought fit and just, whereby Men may ' see, that the only way to rise is to deserve it; all tempering of Factions, taking off Persons, and soothing ' Parties, is but patching up an ill House; by Vertue, ' I mean that which the greatest Nations of old so politically favour'd and renown'd, which consisted in those ' Qualities that made Men fit for the Service of their ' Princes and Countries, by strong and healthful Dispositions both of Body and Mind.

Since the writing of what's above, the French seem to have gathered a new Accession of Strength and Arrogance. The *Hamburgers*, it seems, have thought fit to own the Duke of *Anjou's* Succession to the Throne of *Spain*; and *Louis XIV.* is so much animated by his daily Success, that he threatens the Dutch, with a vigorous

† Sir *W. Temple's Letters*, Vol. I. p. 162.

* Sir *W. Temple's Letters*, Vol. 2. p. 30.

War, if they do not speedily own the new King of *Spain*. This gives us just Cause to apprehend that he will take the Boldness ere long to complement us with a Message of the like nature, his Naval Preparations on the Channel, the march of such a numerous Army into *Flanders*, and the talk of his Encampment near *Dunkirk*, seem to look that way: He knows well enough, that so long as *Great-Britain* holds out, the Duke of *Anjou* must not look upon his Throne to be so establish'd as it cannot be shaken; and that tho' many petty *Princes* and *States* think fit to pay him the Complement of Congratulation, they will soon make him sensible that he is to look for nothing else from them, if once *England* and *Holland* declare for the Emperor. It must be own'd then that he acts like a wise Politician to press the Dutch to a speedy Resolve; and upon their Noncompliance, to be as speedy in attacking them as possibly he can: Nor could he fall upon proper Measures to deterr us from sending them Relief, then to have an Army ready to invade us from *Dunkirk*, and a Fleet in the Channel ready to convoy and second them. There's no doubt but he is sensible of his former mistake in withdrawing his Troops from our Frontiers, and falling in upon the *Upper Rhine* at the time of the Revolution. He then relied upon the Strength of King *James's* Party in *Great-Britain*, and left Us to destroy one another in a Civil War, which he thought must be the necessary Consequence of the Prince of *Orange's* descent. But now he hath found to his loss, that the People of those Islands have a greater value for their Religion and Liberty then at that time he imagin'd. Or if he should not think of these things, we have no reason to doubt but our querelous *Jacobites* have sufficiently inform'd him how much he was wanting

wanting both to them and himself, in not landing an Army upon us immediately after his Naval Victory at *Beachy Head*. Nor have they let him forget his unpardonable Omission of frustrating their Hopes in the like Manner, about the time of their intended Assassination. Upon the whole it is his undoubted Interest to bring *England* and *Holland* to a Compliance as soon as he can, or whether he be able to effect that or not, to give them such a Diversion, as may keep their Forces at home, and prevent their assisting the Emperor.

The Case being thus, it must certainly be the Interest of *England* to put themselves in a Condition to give Laws rather than to take them, and to join in Alliance with the uncorrupted part of *Europe*, rather than leave every one to save their own Stake, which is an infallible Method to lose all. The *Dutch* have no reason at this time to fear the unsteadiness of our Court. It depends therefore now upon our Country to act their part. We are not so much to enquire what the Dutch ought to do at this Juncture, as what is incumbent upon both of us to do in Conjunction, if we divide we are ruin'd, if both of us don't exert our utmost Vigor all *Europe* must be Slaves, and if we neglect the Dutch we neglect our selves; Our Support will invigorate their Councils; but if we desert them, they will be justly provok'd to put out one of their own Eyes, that we may lose both ours. If that should happen to be the case which God forbid, we may suddenly expect to hear of their coming to their old Resolve, which was * *de laisser agir au bon Dieu & de voir la France a leurs Portes sans se remuer*, i. e. to let God do what he thinks good, and leave the French to their own Measures. This was occasion'd by

* Sir William Temple's Letters, Vol. 2. p. 276.

their

their diffidence of King *Charles II.* but at the same time Sir *William Temple* says, ' They were capable of any vigorous Resolution, that his Majesty should think fit to inspire them with in Conjunction with us, they knew that the disposal and ballance of all the Affairs in these parts of *Christendom* lay before his Majesty, from whom the Empire and *Spain*, as well as *Sweden* and their State would receive their Measures.

The Case is the same still, the Spaniards excepted, and there's no reason to doubt but even such of them as secretly or otherwise favour the *Austrian* Title, will take their Measures from us now as well as they did then.

Upon the whole it appears that all the Nations of *Europe* expect their Sentence from us, whether they shall be Slaves or Freeman, what we determine in that Matter must in all probability be acquiesc'd in, if Slavery be their doom, they must be very impolitick, to provoke their new Masters or Patrons, and therefore we have reason to believe they will tamely submit to the Yoak, and not foolishly gall their Necks by struggling in vain. If this be the Case as it must of necessity be, if we don't pronounce a favourable Sentence, it's easie to foretel that our own turn must be next. It's inconsistent with the Politicks of *France* to let it be otherwise, they destroy'd their own Protestants, who had preserv'd the Crown upon the Head of *Louis XIV.* because they thought those who had kept him upon the Throne were able upon any disgust to turn him off, it certainly follows by the same Rule of Arguing, that *Great-Britain*, which hath hitherto defeated all their Designs for the Universal Monarchy is not to be left in a Condition to do so still, if the rest of *Europe* submit, the French will never be so much wanting to their own Interests as to let *England* continue free ; we may depend upon it, that they don't
owe

owe us so much kindness, but on the contrary will greedily lay hold of the Opportunity to ruin us; they will say in Relation to the Brittish Empire as their *Henry 4th.* said in Relation to the House of *Austria*, when he had form'd his vast Project of bringing them to reason, *That he would stab the Beast to the Heart.*

If the French or others should object that the Peace of *Reswick* ties our Hands, and that there being no Hostilities committed against us by *France* and *Spain*; we cannot without Breach of that Treaty do any thing against them. It is easie to answer.

1. That there's scarce one Member of the League, with whom the French have not violated the Treaty of *Reswick*. How long did they trifle with the Empire before they would evacuate *Brisack*. What delays and shufflings did they make before they settled their Frontiers in the Spanish *Netherlands*, and evacuated *Luxemburg*. What Invasions have they made and occasion'd to be made upon the Protestants of the Empire by the fourth Article of the Treaty of *Reswick*. How inhumanely have they treated the Duke of *Monbelliard*. What Infractions have they made upon the Liberties of *Neufchatel*, and their Treaties with *Switzerland*. What trouble have they given the Elector *Palatine* about the Dutcheffs of *Orleanes* Pretensions. How have they chican'd with us, about the *Hudsons-Bay* Factory, and what unfair practices were they guilty of towards the Dutch, before they came to settle the Tarif about Trade. But,

2. Tho' none of those Things were to be objected. We may justly turn the French Argument upon themselves by distinguishing betwixt the Treaty of *Reswick* and the Terms of it. The design of that Treaty was certainly to maintain the Peace of *Europe*, by keeping the Ballance in a due Situation. But the French have broke

broke the Treaty by a fraudulent Annexation or strict Conjunction at least of the Crown of *Spain* to that of *France*, which turns the Ballance wholly on their side, so that by their own Argument we are no longer oblig'd to the Observation of that Treaty. We are to pursue the design of it, without any regard to the Terms; and by Consequence oblig'd to rend the Crown of *Spain* from the Family of *Bourbon*, who have given sufficient evidence of their design to enslave all *Europe*, had their Power been able to keep pace with their Inclinations.

It's hop'd that no English-man will be so fond of the Peace of *Reswick*, as to make it a pretence for denying his Concurrence to bring *France* to Reason. This Nation has the least Cause of any in *Europe* to be satisfied with that Treaty. Let who will be gainers by it, *England* was none; but on the contrary, manifest losers, as will appear by the following Instances.

1. That tho' we were at a greater Expence for carrying on the War than any of the Confederates, yet we had the least Advantage by the Peace. The Empire had several Provinces and Fortresses restor'd, and the Spaniards the like; the Dutch had their Frontiers secur'd, their Trade with *France* settl'd, and their Foreign Plantations restor'd; but for us, we had nothing at all. The Dutch, by the Treaty, had secur'd to them the Artillery, Ammunition, Provision, Slaves, and Effects they took from the French at *Ponticherry* in the *East Indies*, with all the Lands and Rights they had acquir'd from the Prince and the Inhabitants of the Country, as may be seen by the eighth Article of the Treaty between *Holland* and *France*; but for us, we were forced to abandon to the French those places in *Hudson's Bay*, which were taken by them during the Peace that

that preceded the War, tho our *Hudson's-Bay* Company had at their own Charge re-taken them from the French, during the War, as may be seen by the 8th Article of our Treaty; and to this we had the Mortification added of treating with French Commissioners about that which was our undoubted Right by an indisputable Title and actual Possession. This reflected the more Dishonour upon us, that the Injury done us in this Matter, was one of the Causes of War insisted upon in their Majesties K. *William* and Q. *Mary's* Declaration against the French King, dated the 7th Day of *May* 1689. wherein the French King is charg'd 'with invading our Charibee Islands, and possessing himself of our Territories of *New York*, and of ' *Hudson's Bay* in a hostile manner, seizing our Forts, ' burning our Subjects Houses, and enriching his People ' with the spoil of their Goods and Merchandizes, detaining some of our Subjects under the Hardship of Imprisonment, causing others to be inhumanly killed, and ' driving the rest to Sea in a small Vessel, without Food ' and Necessaries to support them, Actions not becoming ' ev'n an Enemy, and yet he was so far from declaring ' himself so, that at that very time he was negotiating here ' in *England* by his Minister, a Treaty of Neutrality and ' good Correspondence in *America*. These are the Words of the Declaration, and that we did not insist at the Treaty not only upon keeping Possession, but upon Compensation, did no way tend to the Honour of *England*. But what could His Majesty do? we were weary of fighting, we were weary of paying, we were actually deserted by some of our Allies, and in danger of being deserted by more; so that we have none to blame but our selves, and some treacherous Allies for this and other dishonourable Articles of the Peace: The best way to retrieve it, is, to enable His Majesty now to do the Nation Justice, and to

insist on better Security for the performance of our Allies, if it be thought fit to enter into New Treaties with them.

A second Reason why we have no cause to be fond of the Treaty of *Rijswick*, is, that we had thereby no Satisfaction for our Fishery in *New-found-land*, tho in the said Declaration of War: It was set forth thus. ' It is ' not long since the French took Licenses from the Eng- ' lish Governour of *New-found-land*, to fish in the Seas ' upon that Coast, and paid a tribute for such Licenses, ' as an Acknowledgment of the sole Right of the Crown ' of *England* to that Island; and yet of late the Encroach- ' ments of the French upon our said Islands, and our Sub- ' ject's Trade and Fishery, have been more like the Inva- ' sions of an Enemy, than becoming Friends, who enjoy'd ' the Advantage of that Trade only by Permission. Instead of insisting upon our Property there, the *French* are left in Possession of *Placenza* in *New-found-land*, which in time may totally destroy the English Fishery in those parts, because the *French* Sail and Victual cheaper than we can do, have miserable Slaves to imploy that can live upon Bread and Water; and by this Means they are enabled to undersell us in the Fish, and other Commodities brought from thence, as by their being left in Possession of the places they took from us in *Hudson's Bay*: They are enabled to undermine our Fur and Hat-Trade, and particularly that of our English Beavers, which were formerly so much valued. Of this we ought to be so much the more sensible, since it is an Increase of the Riches, Honour and Power of *France*, and in all those respects a lessening of us, tho one might think that we are more capable of resenting it now, than we were in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, when Sir *Humphry Gilbert* took Possession of it in her Name, and forbid other Nations to fish there. Besides we have a Title to it from the first Discoverer *Sebastian Cabot*, who presented three of the Natives to our K. H. 7th. We

We may assign as a third Cause of our having no reason to be pleas'd with the Treaty of *Rijswick*, that we had no Satisfaction for what was complain'd of in the said Declaration, as to the seizure of English Ships by French Privateers. The *French King's* forbidding the Importation of great part of the Product and Manufactures of our Kingdom, and imposing exorbitant Customs upon the rest, notwithstanding the vast Advantage he and the *French Nation* reap'd by their Commerce with *England*; which (says the Declaration) are sufficient Evidences of his Designs, to destroy our Trade, and consequently to ruin our Navigation, upon which the Wealth and Safety of this Nation so very much depends.

It's true, we are upon an equal footing with them, as to the Prohibition and Imposts upon our Commodities, because we have serv'd theirs in the same manner; but as to the seizure of our Ships they are still in Arrears to us. As to the danger of our Trade and Navigation; if it was judg'd a good Cause of War then, the force of the Argument is redoubled now, when our Trade is in more danger by *France* than ever, as has been already demonstrated.

We may assign as a fourth Cause, why we ought not to be in love with the Treaty of *Rijswick*, that we had no Satisfaction for the Right of the Flag, which the Declaration said, 'was inherent in the Crown of *England*, yet had been disputed by his Orders in Violation of our Sovereignty of the narrow Seas, which in all Ages has been asserted by our Predecessors; and we are resolved to maintain for the Honour of our Crown, and of the English Nation. We find no Provision made for our Honour in this Matter by the Treaty; and we have no reason to doubt, but as the *French King* has acquir'd more Power in the narrow Seas since the Treaty, than he had before; but he will likewise be more obstinate and impetuous in that Matter.

The last Cause of War mentioned in the Declaration, may serve as a fifth Reason for our Dissatisfaction with the Treaty of *Rijswick*, and is as follows. ' But that which
' must nearly touch us, is his Unchristian Prosecution
' of many of our English Protestant Subjects in *France*
' for Matters of Religion, contrary to the Law of Nations,
' and express Treaties, forcing 'em to abjure their Religion, by strange and unusual Cruelties, and imprisoning some of the Masters and Seamen of our Merchant-Ships, and condemning others to the Gallies, on pretence
' of having on Board, either some of his own miserable
' Protestant Subjects or their Effects: And lastly, as he
' has for some Years last past endeavoured by Insinuations
' and Promises of Assistance to overthrow the Government of *England*. So now by open and violent Methods, and the actual Invasion of our Kingdom of *Ireland*,
' in Support of our Subjects in Arms and Rebellion against us, he is promoting the utter Extepration of our
' good and loyal Subjects in that our Kingdom.

Any Man that will be at the pains to peruse the Treaty, will find nothing of any *proviso* against such Insults upon Brittish Protestants in time to come, nor any Reparation for what is past. And 'tis evident that the French Court have abated nothing of their Humour to affront us on that Head, as was plain from some trouble given to a Chaplain to one of our Ambassadors in *France* since the Peace. The like is to be said as to the barbarous Treatment of the Masters of our Ships and Seamen, contrary to the Law of Nations: Nor had we any satisfaction for the Invasion of *Ireland*, though the *French* King had as much reason to have satisfied us for that, as to be answerable for the Revenues of the Principality of *Orange*, and the Interest of the same from the Treaty of *Nimeguen* to the time of the Peace: By all which it will appear, that as to
what

what concerns our selves, we have as little reason to be fond of the Treaty of *Rijswick* as the *French King* has; and that all the Causes of War mentioned in that Declaration, are increased instead of being diminished.

There is a 6th Cause for our not being satisfied with the Treaty of *Rijswick*, which is perhaps of as great Importance to the Nation, as any of those hitherto mentioned. In the 4th Article of the Treaty it is stipulated, *That the French King will on no Account whatever, disturb his present Majesty in the free Possession of what he now enjoys*; but there's nothing to secure us in our present Settlement after his Majesty's Death. So that the *French King* might pretend he was not by this Treaty, bound up from endeavouring to dispossess the Princess and her Issue, or failing that, his Majesty's Issue, if it should please God to bless him with any; of what ill consequence this may be to the Nation, it's no hard matter to conceive. If the late King should happen to out-live our present Sovereign, or failing that, if the *French King* or his Successor, should happen to think it their Interest to Espouse the pretended Prince of *Wales's* Title; or in case there should be no opportunity for that, if any future Kings of *France* should think it proper for them to advance the Titles of what Issue that pretended Prince, and the Young Gentlewoman called his Sister may have, there's nothing in this Treaty to hinder, but we may have controverted Titles entail'd upon us from Age to Age. It is evident that this Omission alone might have been a Seminary of endless Quarrels betwixt *England* and *France*, and have rendered all the Blood and Treasure we have spent to recover our own Constitution, and the Liberty of *Europe*, to no purpose.

There's another Objection against the Treaty of *Rijswick* arising from the 2d Paragraph of the Declaration of War.

War. Which runs thus, 'When we consider the many
'unjust Methods the *French King* hath of late Years ta-
'ken to gratifie his Ambition, that he has not only In-
'vaded the Territories of the Emperor and of the Em-
'pire, now in Amity with us, laying waste whole Coun-
'tries, and destroying the Inhabitants by his Armies,
'but declared War against our Allies, without any Provo-
'cation, in manifest Violation of the Treaties confirm'd
'by the Guaranty of the Crown of *England*; We can
'do no less than join with our Allies in opposing the De-
'signs of the *French King*, as the Disturber of the Peace,
'and the Common Enemy of the Christian World.

It's well enough known, that the People who suffered
most by those Invasions of *France* upon our Allies, were
the Protestants of the *Palatinat*, and other German Coun-
tries adjoining to *France*; yet they were so far from ha-
ving any Reparation, that such of them as had escaped
the raging Storm of a French Persecution, were instead
of a Calm, that they had just reason to expect, imme-
diately expos'd to a New Tempest of Popish Fury by the
Elector *Palatine*, &c. under which they still groan; so as
their fruitless Complaints resound through all *Eu-
rope* to this very Day. The Elector of *Brandenburg*, the
Langrave of *Hesse*, the Mediator and the Plenipotentia-
ries of some other Protestant Princes made some re-
sistance for a time, when they found their Protestant
Brethren so foully betray'd, but to no purpose. It was in
vain for his Majesty of *Great Brittain* to struggle any
further, the Tide run strong against him; his Subjects
were uneasie at home, and his Allies unfaithful abroad,
and thus concluded the Treaty of *Rijswick*, in a Peace
which his Majesty told his Parliament at their first Meet-
ing after that Transaction: *He was willing to conclude, not
so much to ease himself from any trouble or hazard, as to
free*

free the Kingdom from the continuing burden of an Expensive War.

From all this we conceive it is plain, that no true *English* Man, or Protestant, will object the Treaty of *Rijswick* against new Endeavours, to bring *France* to better terms, since she her self is guilty of the first Violation.

The House of *Austria* put a Sarcastm upon us in the Reign of K. *James* I. because that Prince did nothing for his Son-in-law, the Elector *Palatin* and his Protestant Subjects (at that time run down by the *Austrian* Papists) besides sending of Embassies. And therefore in a Farce or Theatrical Representation at *Brussels*, they jeer'd him by making the Question be put what the King of Great Britain would do for the Elector *Palatin*, and causing to be answer'd by the Fool in the Play, that he would assist him with 100000 Ambassadors. It would be a very great Reflection upon the Zeal and Conduct of *England* now, if the Popish Princes should have occasion to say, that what they ridicul'd as too little in him, is too much for us. It's to be hop'd, the *English* Nation will look upon the Persecution of their Protestant Allies and Brethren to be none of the least Causes for entring into new Alliances against *France*. This Kingdom was never more bless'd with Success, nor higher advanc'd in it's Reputation, than when it appear'd at the head of the Protestant Interest, and espoused the Defence of their persecuted Brethren. This will be evident to those that consider what a figure we made in the Protestant World upon this account, in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, and in the time of the *Long Parliament*: Nay, and what Reputation that very thing acquir'd to us under the Administration of the Usurper.

What is it then that should stand in the way of our inviting all the Protestant Powers of *Europe* into a League with us, for the Defence of our common Religion. -- They
are

are capable of assisting us with Men and Shipping. We have the noblest Fleet now that any Nation can boast of. We are not to seek for a Generallissimo, nor in want of a King to fight our Battles. There's nothing humanely speaking, could be able to stand in the way of the united Naval Force of the Protestant Princes and States; they lie so near together, that the *French* and *Spaniards* cannot hinder their Conjunction. They are able to leave a sufficient Fleet in the Channel, to secure themselves against the Naval Power of *France*, whilst the rest might bombard his Towns, block up his Men of War, pass the Straights, land Men at *Civita Vecchia*, march them to *Rome*, dislodge the Pope, and destroy the Seat of the Antichristian Empire. This cannot seem extravagant or visionary, to those that remember how Admiral *Russel*, with a Squadron of our Fleet, commanded the *Mediterranean*, kep't the *French Fleet* in their Harbours, and gave such Reputation to our Affairs, that the wise *Venetians* thought it high time for them to congratulate *K. William's* Accession to the Throne by a splendid and solemn Embassy.

If this was effected by a Squadron of our Fleet, what might not such an United Naval Force as we have just now mentioned, be able to accomplish? What other reason besides a scandalous decay of Zeal in most of the Protestant Kingdoms and States can there be assign'd, why all of them conjunctly, did not Remonstrate against the Barbarous Persecution of the *Palatin* Protestants, &c. and upon denial of Redress, enter into such a League as above mentioned. We had Discourses indeed of such a thing being in project, but the Event hath shewed that there was nothing in it. This is so much the more to be wonder'd and griev'd at, considering what just cause of Alarm the Elector of *Saxony's* Apostacy, the kindling of a War amongst the Protestants in the North, and the suspicious Reports

Reports of the Apostacy of some other Great Princes might have given us. A League of this Nature had certainly been more justifiable than some other Transactions that have of late appear'd in the World, and which God in his Providence hath defeated; a League for the Mutual Defence of our Religion, had been much more commendable, than for any Protestant Prince or Princes to have been hunting after vain and insignificant Titles, an unjust Enlargement of their Dominions, or an undue Advancement of their Prerogatives. These things can have no other Issue, but to raise Jealousies among their Neighbours, and to cause Poverty and Discontents among their own Subjects, which diverts and weakens them from undertaking the Defence of the Common Cause. As this is, in a great measure, owing to the foolish Ambition of Princes, and the crafty Intreagues of the *Romish Clergy* in most Countries of *Europe*; it is also but too justly chargeable upon the shameful Cowardice and want of Zeal in such Protestant Ecclesiastics as belong to the Courts of Protestant Princes; they are most of them so bewitch'd with their Court Favour, Ease and Luxurious way of Living, and hopes of Preferment, that they dare not venture to tell Princes their Faults, nor remonstrate against the Injustice of their Proceedings in any respect. Had it been otherwise, there's Ground to think, that the Elector of *Saxony* had not become such an easy Proselite to the Church of *Rome*; nor had the King of *Denmark* endanger'd the Peace of the North by falling in with that Apostate Prince. Where is there that Court Chaplain now in *Europe*, that has so much Faithfulness and Zeal as Bp. *Latimer*, who reprov'd K. *Henry VIII.* for his lewd way of Living, by presenting him with a Bible with this Inscription on the Cover, *Whoremongers and Adulterers*

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God

God will judge. This shameful decay of Zeal in our Protestant Clergy, with the little Care there's taken of the religious Education of Protestant Princes, which discovers it self by the Practise of most of themselves, and their principal Courtiers, is the thing of the World that portends most danger to the Reformation.

It's a mistake, to think that the vigorous Opposition of Clergy-men, to abuse in Government, or the ill Practises of Governours, is of little Significancy: The Opposition made by our own Bishops to the late K. *James's* Declaration, is a fresh and a speaking Demonstration to the contrary; to this we may add an old Presbyterian Instance of the Clergy of *Geneva*; who oblig'd that *Republick* to do Justice upon a Murderer of Quality, by threatening otherwise to leave the City. The reason of this is obvious, for even Tyrants, such as *Saul*, (who had no regard to God nor Religion) find it necessary for their Reputation, that the Priests and *Prophets* should honour them before the People.

This is enough to demonstrate how much the Protestant Clergy, and Nobility through all *Europe*, are chargeable with the Decay of the Reformation, were they faithful to their respective Princes, in reprovng them for what's amiss, or refusing to serve them in such parts of their Administration, as are prejudicial to Religion, or the People's Liberty, there would not be found so much Irreligion and Arbitrary Management, as is now to be found in most Protestant Countries. This is one principal Reason, why the Protestant Interest loses Ground every where, and if Heav'n don't prevent it, must in a little time be totally swallowed up. We have but little reason to hope that Protestants should unite or make any vigorous Defence against

gainst the common Enemy, whilst so many of their Princes are Arbitrary, and wherever they have Power oppress their Subjects as much as Popish Princes do theirs. There's no Man can dispute the Truth of this that knows any thing of the Government of the Northern Crowns, and most of the Princes of *Germany*. It's well enough known by what Methods the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sueden* made themselves absolute, and it's truly unaccountable in the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who from time to time have made such gallant Efforts against the Tyranny of the House of *Austria*; that yet they should affect to be Arbitrary over their own Subjects.

It remains then, that the only visible Method, left to restore Vertue and Liberty to the Protestant World, is for *England* to lead the way. We have been bless'd in our Endeavours to recover and preserve our own Liberty. We have that glorious *Hero* on our Throne, whom God made use of to be the Instrument of it. He went as far towards breaking off the Chains of *Europe*, and securing her from Slavery in time to come, as our Inclinations and Purfes, and those of our Allies would allow him, and more he could not do.

We have plain Demonstration to prove that the Papists have not been so much wanting in their Endeavours, to propagate the Romish Idolatry, since the Treaty of *Rijswick*.— The loud Complaints of the Protestants of *Germany* which fill most of the foreign Gazzettes, will not suffer us to call that in Question. Nor have we any reason to think, that they have been so slack in a Catholick League to destroy what they are pleas'd to call the Northern Heresie, as Protestants have been to form a League

in defence of it. This is so far from being uncertain, if we may depend upon some Advices from very good Hands in *Holland*, that the Imperial Minister, to shew the sincerity of his Master's Intentions to join with the Dutch and us, in asserting his own Right, and the Common Liberty of *Europe*, hath intimated the Plan of a League entred into, or projected by Catholick Princes to subdue *Holland*, and re-introduce Popery into *England*, by Restoring the Late King.

This is no way improbable, but whether it be true or not at present, we have no reason to doubt, but the Conclave of *Rome* will promote such a Design with all the speed they can. They are sensible that they lost a very good opportunity of effecting this, when *Louis XIVth* was at the Zenith of his Grandeur, and *James II.* on the Throne of *England*, supported by a good Army. It is therefore very improbable that they will depend any more upon after-games. and since they have such a fair Opportunity as the Conjunction of *France* and *Spain*, and a possibility of reconciling the Houses of *Burbon* and *Austria* by intermarriages, and the Concession of some Provinces (if we and the Dutch don't speedily fall in with the Emperor) there's no doubt they will improve it.

The best way in the World to prevent this, and by Consequence the Effects of a *Catholick League*, is for us to enter into an Alliance with the Emperour upon honourable Terms: this will be much more easily effected than a Protestant League; and by the Blessing of God may as effectually secure the Protestant Interest. The Emperour courts us to it, and by this Means we shall take off one of the principal Heads of the Romish Interest from coming
against

against us; whereas if we neglect his Offers it will but whet his Revenge, add a new Provocation to what he hath already conceiv'd from the Treaty of *Partition*, oblige him to make the best Terms he can for himself, and by Consequence join the whole Popish Interest in *Europe* against the Reformation.

We seem to be so much the more oblig'd to such an Alliance and Measures that their Majesty's in their Declaration of War insisted upon it as the first Cause of their so doing, *that the French King had invaded the Territories of the Emperour, and of the Empire now in Amity with us.* If this was a good Cause of War then, certainly the French King's having robb'd the imperial Family of the whole Succession of *Spain*, is a much better Cause now: this more immediately concerns us, because it will have a direct and a speedy Influence upon our *Trade* and *Safety*: whereas his Invasion upon the *Upper Rhine* touch'd us only by a remote Influence.

If the *Treaties* we lay under with our Allies at that time were a sufficient Justification for our taking up Arms as the Declaration justly alledges, the Argument is much stronger now. There are so many *Treaties* violated by this fraudulent Usurpation of the Crown of *Spain*, that we shall for ever lose the Honour of being *Arbiters* in the Affairs of *Europe*, or *Guarantees* of *Leagues*, if we suffer such a manifest Breach of Faith with all Mankind to pass unregarded. We are oblig'd to use our utmost Endeavours, to have Justice done to our Honour in this Matter, or we must give it up as eternally lost, and become the Reproach and Scorn of the Universe.

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It's supposed that most Men are sensible enough of our Danger, but the great Objection will be that the Poverty of the Nation and the great Debts we are already engag'd in, render us unable to engage in a new War.

To which it may be answered, 1. That were we to engage an Enemy that does not labour under the like or much greater Difficulties, the Objection would be frightful and unanswerable, but since we are certainly in a far better Condition in those respects than either *France* or *Spain*, the Objection loses much of its strength.

2. There's no true Englishman or good Protestant but will be content to pay ten Shillings in the Pound for carrying on a War, rather than let the French seize upon the whole Twenty. That we are in danger of being thus treated, if we don't put our selves in a condition to oppose it, is apparent to every Man of the meanest Thought.

3. It has been said already that our Annual Income by Trade amounts to two Millions; but supposing it less, one half of that Money well dispos'd of, may go a great way to bring the War to a speedy and happy Conclusion. A far less Sum will equip our Fleet, and if that were once done, a strong Squadron sent to the *West-Indies*, under true English Commanders, may in all probability soon repay us. The most speedy and effectual Method to reduce our Enemies is to stop the Fountain of their Money, and obstruct their Commerce. The *Dutch* and We are better provided to do this than they are to oppose us, and were that once effected, *France* must soon be oblig'd to retire within her ancient Boundaries, and glad if she escape so. It seems to be demonstrable that a Naval War is the likeliest Method to quell that *Leviathan*; and as it is so, it is a sort of War that we can best manage with the least expence and danger to our Selves. Our Naval Force consumes

sumes our own Commodities, and the Money rais'd for maintaining them circulates among our Selves, whereas the keeping of an Army in Foreign Parts, carries our Money Abroad.

Another Advantage we have by a Sea War is this, that we fight under the Conduct of *English* Commanders, whose Character it has always been to seek out and fight their Enemies and bring things to a speedy Issue, whereas Foreign Generals (and such we must have if we engage in Land-Service beyond Sea) love to spin out a War that they may raise their Fortunes. It behoves us to take care of this, and that no Foreign Soldier, nor Domestick Politician, have the opportunity of *making a broken Leg* where there's no occasion; A certain great Lord is said to have done thus by *Ireland*, at the time of the Revolution, whereas in all probability that Kingdom had otherwise not cost us a quarter of the Blood and Treasure it afterwards did. He is now gone to his Place, and his Honour and Male Issue extinguished; may all such pernicious Counsellors have the like Fate.

When *English* Liberties and Honour are at stake, the great Council of *England* is the fittest to give Advice, and *English* Arms are most proper to be imploy'd in their Defence; but since the present posture of Affairs makes foreign Alliances necessary; and that we have formerly been but ill serv'd by some such Allies; the united Wisdom of the Nation is most capable of providing against such things in time to come; they are the fittest to judge what proportion of the Burden we ought to bear, and of the Ability of the People they represent; and therefore, those things are proper to be submitted to their Regulation.

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It is not to be supposed, when *Englishmen* are sensible of the danger of their Country, that they will be sparing of their Blood and Treasure to defend it both by Sea and Land. And therefore it's hop'd, that the Surmises of such Persons as dissuade from foreign Alliances, and suggest the Impossibility of our being able to bear a new War; will be carefully examin'd before they be listned to. We have a Party in our Bowels that have always been Enemies to the Interests of their Country, and provided they might have profitable Places, or Pensions, and Liberty to ruin all those that had not their own Stamp, were willing to enslave us to Princes of our own that were Pensioners to *France*; the Councils of such Men are to be carefully avoided. — Let us be so wise, as to make use of their Assistance and Votes in any thing that may better, or further secure our Constitution, whatever Principle it proceeds from, or to whatever end it is directed; but we must beware of being engag'd by them in any thing that may throw us into unreasonable Heats, or retard our necessary Preparations for the Defence of our Selves, and our Allies. This to be sure they will endeavour by all the sly and indirect Methods they can, they will cover their black Designs with the fairest Pretexts imaginable; but it's hop'd they are too well known to be trusted. The present Scituation of Affairs, would seem to direct us to be more careful how to get out of our ill Circumstances than inquisitive how we came in to them, tho at the same time, if the one be no hindrance to the other; it's proper we should make some enquiries of that Nature, that we may better know how to avoid the like Dangers in time to come; and if there be any Persons that are justly chargeable with an Accession to our present Dangers by their ill Conduct or Councils, it's but reasonable they should be prevented from doing the like at another time.

There's another great Objection against a VVar on the account of the Spanish Succession, which is that 'twill ruine many of our Merchants, who have great Effects in *Spain*, and, that this will be a common loss to the Nation. To this, it may be answered, that a War cannot be so suddenly declar'd or commenc'd, but our Merchants may have time to withdraw their Effects, Besides, by the 12th. Article of the Treaty of *Reswick*, there's a Provision of 6 Months for the Merchandize, and Ships of both sides to be retired without hazard of Confiscation in case of a VVar, which if broke on their part must be aveng'd by Reprisals on ours, and their Merchants must be treated in like manner. The Dutch have concerns that way as well as we, and if they venture it, sure we may. There can be no VVar attempted without loss to particular Persons, and the whole Community of a Kingdom; but the general good must in all those Cases have the Preference. The VVisdom of the Nation must be applied to, if this should be the Case, to grant the Merchants a Compensation when such Losses happen, by a share of what may be taken from the Enemy afterwards in the *West-Indies*, or at Sea, or by such other Methods as they may judge best. In the mean time we have no reason to doubt, but all our generous Traders will be heartily willing to bear some loss, provided that by a brisk management of an actual VVar, our Trade may be delivered from such dangers in time to come, and establish'd upon a better footing.

If to this and what hath been said already about the *Spanish West-Indies*, it should be objected, that this Method would be displeasing to the Emperor, whom in case of a VVar we must be tender of disobliging. It may be answer'd, that the House of *Austria* cannot so little

understand their own Interest, as to take disgust at this, since 'tis the speediest way to reduce their Enemies, and may save them that Treasure and Blood, which they must otherwise expend in a long and tedious War, and perhaps to little purpose.

Besides, since the Emperor is most concern'd both in Honour and Interest to have the Crown of *Spain* taken off from the Head of the Family of *Bourbon*, it would be but reasonable for us to insist upon a greater freedom of Trade into those Parts of the World than the Spaniards have hitherto been willing to allow us. As this is no more than what in Equity ought to be granted; by this Means we might perhaps find out a *Medium* for Compromising those Differences in *Scotland* that seem to be rising to a dangerous height. As there's no Reason that their Trade should be advanced to the detriment of our own, it's but just they should be heard as to what they can offer to remove that Objection. It's certainly more our Interest, that a Nation under the same Allegiance with our selves, and who are under an almost indispensable Necessity of making our Interests their own in every respect, should have some share allow'd them in Trade, rather than the whole should be endanger'd by our Differences. It behoves us to take care that no Intriguing Politician make a lame Leg of that Kingdom, as it's said some did formerly of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. It's better that our Neighbours should be suffer'd to continue with their Limbs whole, than that we should be at the Expence of curing 'em when broken. It's no time now to divide at home, when we are all in danger of being attack'd from abroad. It's more our Interest to encourage our Neighbours to continue in a good Correspondence with us by a kindly Treatment, than to suffer them to be provock'd to such

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Resentments, as may in time procure Forfeitures for some who want them.

Since the writing of what's above we have Advices from *Holland*, that the Spaniards at *Madrid* are already so big with Hopes of being re-possessed of the United Provinces, and destroying the Protestant Religion there and in *Britain* and *Ireland*, that they cannot forbear to express it publicly. This is sufficient to confirm what we have had already furmis'd of a Catholick League on foot to root out the Northern Heresie. There is no doubt but the Conclave of *Rome* will promote the Design; and rather than they should not, there's a Potentate in the World, who will promise, by their Concurrence, to subdue all *Europe*, divide it into two Monarchies; make himself the Head of the One, and the Pope the Head of the Other; as *Gregorio Leti* says was agree'd on by the Emperor *Charles V.* and one of the Popes in his Time, but that Heav'n prevented it by the death of the Pontif.

F I N I S.

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...of the Council.

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